A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

Tuesday, November 12. 1706.

I Am astonish'd, that any one can help seeing the Safety, Settlement and Perpetuity of the establish'd Churches of either Kingdom, entirely wrapt up in the UNION; and indeed only to be secured by it.

Hitherto the *Scots* have been jealous of *England's* putting upon them Episcopacy, Tyranny, &c. And I cannot say, it has always been without Cause, and in Case of Ruptures, it may not yet be without Cause; Wars, different Sovereigns, and a thousand Casualties and Uncertainties, to which that Church as now establish'd, is subject, may expose Her to strange things, both from *England* without, as distinctly and disunitedly consider'd, *which after the* QUEEN, *no body can answer for*; and from a numerous and doubly disaffected Party at home. Who, I say, in Case of those things, shall answer for what may or may not befall the present establish'd Churches? I dare say, no Man, that has a true Zeal for either of them, can say, he is ease in their present Condition, abstracted from this Union.

Upon an Union all these Fears vanish, 'tis for ever render'd impossible to overthrow the Settlement of either Church; but by subverting the Constitution, by absolute Arbitrary Government, and the openest bare-fac'd Tyranny. The Church, and the Constitution, the Spiritual and Temporal Liberty, have the same Sanction, depend upon the same Security, are defended by the same Power, demanded by the same Right, twisted and connected together, cannot fall but by the same Disaster, nor stand but by the Support of one another.

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'Tis true, Tyrannies may happen, and ſo they may, and are much more likely to do in *Scotland* under this preſent unſettled Poſture as to Succeſſion, than otherwiſe; and therefore they muſt ſtill be more ſafe in a Union, than they are now, and with this Addition, that then all *Britain* will be concern'd for their Liberty, and they will demand it as their undoubted indiſputable Right: Which Right the other can never conſent to abrogate or make null, without making it lawful, by the ſame Majority, to loſe their own, and ſo ſhould one Day come to ſuffer by the ſame Experiment.

And indeed this is the only Way to reconcile that ſtrange Abſurdity, of which I have taken Notice elſewhere, now growing up in both Nations, *Viz. The Danger of the Church!* That *England* ſhould ſay, Her Church will be in Danger, and *Scotland* ſay, Her Church will be in Danger: If both theſe can be true, I confeſs, it has ſomething very odd in it. But what is yet more abſurd, is, That this ſhould be from an Union! Bleſs us, Union-work this! How can that be? 'Tis the Nature of Union to preſerve, not deſtroy; to ſecure, not endanger; to confirm, not undermine. *No, Gentlemen,* if either of your Churches are in Danger, it will be for Want of the Union: So, and no other way, the Abſurdity may be reconcil'd, and both Churches be in Danger.

In Union; Love, Peace, Charity, and mutual Aſſiſtance are natural Conſequences; and can theſe pull down any Church? Whenever any Party attempts upon the other, the Union is broke; 'tis no more the thing, and can no longer bear the Name. When the Union is broke, the Conſtitution is overthrown; for one Link of this Chain being broken, the whole Chain is render'd uſeleſs; the Force of the whole depending upon the Continuity of its Parts; The Fundamental is deſtroy'd, the Government diſſolved, and the whole Iſland becomes a Mob, one univerſal Rabble. Juſt as in the Caſe of a Tyrant diſpenſing with the Laws, and ſetting up Arbitrary Power; Property ceaſes, Authority diſſolves, Conſtitution ſuffocates, and the National Capacity dies.

It is true, human Wiſdom can make nothing indiſſolvable. This Union may be broke; ſo may *Magna Charta*, ſo may the Conſtitution. But, Gentlemen, you have the ſame Security for your Church-Settlement, as you have for your Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and the ſame on one ſide, as you have on the other.

But ſay ſome, fill'd with Jealouſies of remote Poſſibilities in Behalf of *Scotland*, even the Legiſlative may be biaſs'd, and a Parliament may come, that ſhall reſcind the Settlement of the Church of *Scotland*.

Put this into *England*. *A Parliament may come, that may diſſolve the Conſtitution, that may reſcind the Union, that may ſacrifice the whole Kingdom*; It is abſurd in its Nature, the Union in its Being is the very Conſtitution, the Life and Soul of great *Britain*, as to Government: And to ſay, a Parliament may come, that may break the Conſtitution, is to ſay, a Parliament may be mad, poſſeſs'd, and *Felo de ſe*. As a Parliament they cannot do ſo, they ceaſe from that Moment to be a Parliament, and become a Houſe of Tyrants, and a Den of Robbers, nay, and of the worſt Sort of Robbers, ſtripping thoſe they come to protect.

If they would do this, therefore, they cannot without diſſolving their own Being, annihilating their own Body, and committing all imaginable Abſurdities.

They may diſſolve themſelves, but original natural Right muſt remain. If they diſſolve the Form, *whither ſhall it return*? To its Primitive State it cannot, becauſe that is diſſolv'd; to Confuſion it muſt not, becauſe Right muſt be preſerv'd: Whenever therefore a Parliament deſtroys the Conſtitution, by which a Nation is form'd, that Parliament ceaſes, and the Power reverts to original Source to form a new one.

Thus the Nature of the thing is its own Security, and there needs no Addition of other Force; if there does, the Mouths of thoſe Gentlemen muſt be ſtopp'd, in His Grace the High Commiſſioner's Speech to the Parliament of *Scotland*, That his Grace is empowered to conſent to what may be further neceſſary.

What can be made more firm? Are there any Ligaments in the Law, qualified to bind the Church and Conſtitution together, ſo as that one cannot be hurt without the other;

other; they are offer'd to the *Scots*, let them take 'em, and tie 'em as fast, as Laws or Oath can bind, or the *Sacra Imperii* of any Nation can be made.

After this, what shall we say, is there any thing in the Scruples of some in either of the establish'd Churches, which goes beyond the real Security of the Church?

I wish, those Gentlemen would consider, whether it be any more than a Scruple? And whether all the Obligation, they think themselves under, be not limited by Possibilities? Whether it can be understood they should be bound to do, that which they cannot really wish, *the publick Good and present Circumstances consider'd*, were in their Power to do?

Let such Gentlemen consider, how far their Security, as well as Judgement, will be called in Question in this Case.

Whether really securing the Church, which they embrace as truly and only Orthodox, be not the most effectual Step they can take to pull down all false Churches, and consequently a full Discharge of the sacred Obligation they think themselves under?

'Tis certain as things are, the Church of *Scotland* is far from safe; and I should be excusable, if I should say, nothing but Miracle or an Union can make it so. He, then that effectually establishes the true Church of Christ in the World, effectually suppresses and pulls down all other Churches in the Language of his Capacity; as he assists to place that Church in a Posture of Victory over all her Enemies, by a Liberty of using all her Spiritual Weapons, *Viz.* The superiour Doctrine and Sanctity of her Ministry; and I wish, there were no other Contention between the two Churches.

MISCELLANEA.

IN my last *Miscellanea*, I introduc'd Mr. *Hodges* treating *England* in a very odd, and wholly new Manner, as to their National Crimes; and I promis'd in my next to show you, Gentlemen, your National Picture, as drawn by this excellent Limner——— I shall only make good my Word to you, and give it you in his own Words; my Observations may perhaps come after.

Having begun in my last to tell the *Scots* with a true Air of Pharisaical Hypocrisie, How much better they are than the *English* Nation, and therefore that in the Matter of a Union, they should begin with *a stand off, I am more Holy than thou*, he goes on.

"There, meaning in *England*, by the "Slackness of Ecclesiastick Discipline, drink-"ing in of false Doctrines, and spreading "erroneous Opinions, the Devil hath got "such a Way, Sin is become so exemplary, "tempting and uncontroul'd; the Mercies "of Heaven so openly despis'd, and God "so manifestly provok'd; that if it were not "for the Sake of many godly there, and for "their daily Confessions and Prayers, *Eng-*"*land* must have long ago fallen under some "extraordinary and dreadful Effects of "God's Displeasure.

"And how long these may be withheld, "where the Increase of Sin does so far "overgrow the Increase of Grace, who can "tell?

"There the Face of their Church is over-"spread with *Arminianism*, *Sosinianism*, *Po-*"*pish* Ceremonies, and a cold, lazy and "lifeless Form of Worship, having neither "any thing like Discipline, nor either pub-"lick or private Catechising.

"Many of those, who most set up for "Knowledge, Parts, Wit and Sense, above "their Neighbours, are bid or open Own-"ers of Deism, prefering blind Natural, to "the Heavenly Light of reveal'd Religion, "and treating in Ridicule the Holy Scrip-"tures, Regeneration, the imputed Right-"teousness of Christ, and the Fundamental "Doctrine of three Persons in the God-"head, both in Discourse and publick Wri-"tings, without any publick Search or "Censure.

"Their Self-Murthers and other Mur-"thers abound, some think, more than in

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